

**On the Descent of John Owen Dominis,
Prince Consort of Queen Liliuokalani**

Dr. Ante Kovačević

FOREWORD

Before my first trip to the Hawaiian Islands in 1966, I read James Michener's *Hawaii*. Besides my enjoyment in reading Michener's masterpiece, I was particularly interested in the name of Queen Liliuokalani's husband, John Owen Dominis, because it seemed to me that he might be a countryman of mine, as the name is typical of Dalmatia, a province of the republic of Croatia in Yugoslavia, along the eastern Adriatic coast. I was very much surprised as I had never read or heard anything about that name in connection with the Hawaiian Islands. Meanwhile I received a letter from a friend of mine, who knew that I intended to make that trip, asking me whether I knew that Mark Anthony Dominis, the great theologian, physicist and mathematician of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was a king of Hawaii. I answered that the first western man to see the Hawaiian Islands was the great English explorer and navigator Captain James Cook, who discovered them in 1778, and that Mark Anthony Dominis was not a man who would have kept quiet about anything that important. This was the first of many fantastic and impossible stories which I read or heard about and which I will return to later on.

I became enthused with the Hawaiian people and Hawaiian scenery, with the lush vegetation and unique climate, so I started to read about Hawaii and Hawaiian history. While reading, I noticed that two men, carriers of a Dalmatian name, Captain John Dominis and his son, John Owen Dominis, played a significant role in Hawaiian history, but that very little was known about the descent of these men, and the information available seemed to be erroneously recorded. Endeavoring to find out the truth, I started my research first with the Hawaii State Archives in Honolulu, and continued with the parochial offices of Trieste, where only births and marriages were registered, the State Archives of Trieste, the Archives of the monastery of St. Euphemia in Rab, Dalmatia, and the Historical Archives in Zadar, the city which once was the capital of Dalmatia. I was in contact with the Library of Congress and

Dr. Ante Kovačević, a physician, practiced medicine in California before his retirement to Yugoslavia.

the National Archives in Washington, D.C., the City Registrar of Boston, the Secretary of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in Boston, the New York State Historical Society, the *Schenectady Gazette*, and the Kriegs-archiv and Haus-, Hof-und Staatsarchiv in Vienna, Austria. I also obtained photostatic copies of Hawaiian, American, English, Italian and Croatian newspapers which wrote about a Dominis. Of particular interest to me was an article which was published in the *American-Croatian Historical Review*, August 1946. I consulted also the Directors of the Naval and Historical Museums in Trieste, historians and experts in the history of Trieste, and literature concerning the patrician and noble families of Trieste and Italy in the Civic Library of Trieste. Finally I contacted some members of the Dominis family. But before discussing the descent of Captain Dominis I have to very succinctly outline the history of the Dominis family and their native city as well as the geography and history, the cultural and ethnical conditions of their country of origin: Dalmatia. This is necessary in order to grasp the essence of the problem.

I. GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY OF DALMATIA

The Adriatic Sea, a northern extension of the Mediterranean Sea, divides Italy from Yugoslavia. The western coast belongs to Italy, the eastern to Yugoslavia. The Federative Republic of Yugoslavia now consists of six Socialistic Republics: Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, Crna Gora (Monte Negro), and Macedonia. Except for a small northern portion of this coast which belongs to the Republic of Slovenia and a very small southern portion which belongs to Crna Gora, almost the entire eastern coast belongs to the Republic of Croatia, and the southern three-fourths of this Croatian coast is occupied by the region called Dalmatia, a narrow strip of land separated from the hinterland by the Dinara Mountains and extending from the city of Zadar on the mainland and the island of Rab southwards almost to the northern border of Albania. The Dalmatian coast is beautiful. It is adorned with innumerable islands which offer a most unusual variety of gulfs, straits, bays, inlets and coves. There are even fiords, as for instance the Gulf of Kotor. The sea is of the darkest blue one can ever imagine, and it is crystal clear. There is no fog in Dalmatia, let alone smog, and the clear air is filled with the fragrances of a semitropical vegetation. There are also many rocky and barren areas, which, however, enhance the beauty of the fertile valleys where oleanders, tamarinds, rosemaries, pines, vines, olives and figs grow luxuriantly. There are enchanting spots which seem to be natural stages for fairy tales. The climate is very mild, not as mild as in the Hawaiian Islands, but very seldom is there any snow, and in the full heat of the summer it is refreshed by a daily breeze, the Maestral, with remarkable regularity from 10 a.m. to 4 p.m.

To better understand the politico-ethnical situation of Dalmatia and its relationship to the Dominis family, some historical background is necessary. About 2000 B.C. there arrived in Dalmatia many tribes of the Indo-European

stock, the Illyrians. Later some Celts mixed with the Illyrians and gave rise to Celto-Illyrian strains, chiefly the Dalmatians. Over the centuries, the area was controlled by Greeks, Romans, Croats, and Venetians, each group leaving some traces of their presence.

The greatest and most lasting influence was the Croatian. After the original invasion in the sixth century, Croatian became the common language. However, from 1420 to 1797, when the republic of Venice controlled Dalmatia, Italian was the official language and the language of the schools. It was spoken only by a minority, although this was the influential and dominant class. The great majority of the population continued to speak Croatian. However, many Dalmatians, under Italian influence for centuries, remained culturally Italian rather than Croatian.

In 1797, Napoleon returned the area to the Austria-Hungary empire as the successors to the ruler of Hungary, the hereditary rulers of Croatia. As the Austrian administrators and officers who were assigned to Dalmatia were primarily from areas of Italy under Austrian rule, Italian continued to be the language of government and education. This is the period that is of importance in unravelling the story of Captain John Dominis. It was after this time that the Croatian nationalism movement grew and the Croatian language was used in education, business and government. After World War I, of course, the area became part of Yugoslavia.

II. THE NAME AND FAMILY DOMINIS; THE ISLAND AND CITY OF RAB

There is an extensive American literature about Hawaii, but there is very little written about the descent of Captain Dominis. A. Grove Day in his book *Hawaii's People* says that Dominis was a sailor from the Balearic Islands. Some say he was a Yankee but the majority, when they mention anything about his descent, say that he was an Italian. I, being a Dalmatian, of course, knew that there are in Dalmatia many people with the name Dominis and that Dominis was the name of one of the most famous and important, if not the most important, family of Dalmatia. There are at present people named Dominis scattered through all of Dalmatia, but they are almost all descendents of the famous family of Rab. The origin of the name Rab (Latin *Arba*) is not known; the Croatian name obviously derives from the Latin by metastasis. Rab is one of the northern Dalmatian islands, and one of the best known Dalmatian summer resorts. A mountain range runs from northwest to southeast and protects the valleys where vineyards, olives and figs are cultivated, but the largest source of income for Rab's people is the tourist trade.

The old city of Rab entirely occupies a small peninsula on the southwest shore. It was inhabited already in prehistoric times. In Roman times it was a Municipium. In the Middle Ages it was, first, under the sovereignty of the Byzantine emperors; in the tenth and eleventh centuries part of the Croatian kingdom; from the beginning of the twelfth century to 1409 alternately under the sovereignty of the Croatian-Hungarian kings and Venice; from 1409 to

1797 under Venice; and since the fall of the Venetian Republic, it has shared the fate of the rest of Dalmatia.

It is surrounded by city walls which were erected for the first time under Caesar Octavian Augustus. They were several times destroyed and rebuilt until the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when they reached the final shape they have at present. The new city outgrew the old walls and spread across the harbor opposite the small peninsula where the original city was built. The old city contains several beautiful historical, architectural monuments in Romanesque and Gothic styles dating from the eleventh to the sixteenth centuries.

In the city lived the family Dominis, and it played a significant role in the history and cultural life of the city. The family gave birth to captains, navigators, bishops, poets and scientists. According to the unpublished chronicles of the monastery of St. Euphemia in Rab by Father Odoriko Badurina, Ivan de Dominis, for instance, was the commander of the galleon of Rab *San Giovanni* and fought in 1571 under Don Juan of Austria against the Turks.

The people of the city were divided into two categories: the patricians or nobles, and the commoners or plebeians. The nobles took care of the almanac where all the noble families were listed from 1325 A.D. and the family Dominis had belonged there since the most remote times. According to the chronicles, the first Dominis mentioned was Stephanus de Domine in 1212. However, the best known is the famous theologian, archbishop, mathematician and physicist Mark Anthony de Dominis, who also displayed a penchant for an adventurous life.¹

The Dominis family was granted the title *comes* (count): *Imperii sacri lateranensis palatii comites facimus*, according to the royal diploma of King, later Emperor, Sigismund in 1437, and the title was confirmed by the Venetian Republic in 1744.²

At first one would say that the name Dominis is of Latin origin, as the root and the termination are Latin. One may also think that *Dominis* is a Latin translation of *Gospodnetić*, as Croatian *Gospod* or *Gospodin* is Latin *Dominus* (Lord). In the town of Postire on the Dalmatian islands of Brac there are some families named *Gospodnetić* and some named *Dominis*. However, one may exclude, in view of the cultural circumstances of those times in Dalmatia and generally in Europe, that any Dominis would croitize his name, but many *Gospodnetics* very probably latinized their name and so changed it to *Dominis*. Victor Anton, count Dujšin, states in his article in *Zbornik Plemstva (Annals of Nobility, Zagreb, 1938)* that *Dominis* derives from either the Croatian first names Dinko, Dominik, Dominja, or from the Croatian last names Diminja, Deminja, Domana. To corroborate the latter opinion he quotes the great Czech historian and philologist Konstantin Josef Jirecek, (1854-1918). Father Vladislav Brusić in his book *Rab* states that in 1075 the Bishop of Rab was Domana (p. 73) and that among the delegates who in 1116 went to Doge Vitale

Captain John Dominis, father of John Owen Dominis. (Original miniature in possession of Virginia Dominis Koch.)





Faliero there was one named Diminja (p. 77). He also states that in 1367 "the Bishop of Rab Grisogon de Dominis (Demigne)" went to the Court of King Louis (Ludovic) in Budim (Budapest) (p. 82). So there are in the history of Rab many undoubtedly Croatian names from which Dominis might have derived and which obviously confirmed Jirecek in his opinion. "Demigne" occurring beside Dominis is very significant, almost a proof that Dominis developed from the quoted various medieval Croatian names. If Dominis were of Latin origin there would be many people named Dominis in Italy, the geographical and historical heir of Rome, to whose language and language spirit Italian is the closest. In Italy there are a lot of people named Dominici, Domenici, Domenichini, Domenighini, rarely Domini, even more rarely Dominisi or Dominissini but there are no Dominis. I looked through the telephone books of all the larger Italian cities and found only one in Rome and one in Milan. There are several in Trieste. I know from personal knowledge that those in Trieste and the one in Milan are Dalmatians (from Rab or from Brac) and the one in Rome is probably a Dalmatian.

Therefore I was very much surprised when I read that Captain Dominis was born in Trieste in 1803 and that he was an Italian, and I tried to explain it as well as I could. I assumed that he most probably thought that nobody in America had ever heard of Rab, and most people never even of Dalmatia, and therefore indicated Trieste, which was the largest city close to Dalmatia. I know how Dalmatians often indicate the closest city as their home town even if they are not natives of that city. It is surprising that he declared himself an Italian and not an Austrian, as in those times nationality was identified with citizenship. But he certainly attended an Italian school as there were, as stated above, barely any Croatian schools in Dalmatia, and he probably knew Italian better than Croatian. So I concluded that he was a Dalmatian, probably from Rab, permeated with Italian culture.

III. RESEARCH

That would be the most logical conclusion, were it not for the letter written with pencil by Queen Liliuokalani on June 18, 1892, which I found in the Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu. In order to discuss it later, I have to quote the entire letter:

Honolulu, Oahu, June 18th 1892.

To Mr. V. von Schönberger,
Her Hawaiian Majesty's Consul at Vienna, Austria.

I write to you and ask if you could give me some aid in trying to obtain information about a gentleman who resided here many years ago and who went by the name of Capt. John Dominis. He was born at Trieste in the year 1803 of parents of high standing and birth. His mother was born in 1776 or 1778 and was a lady of rank—of middle height and rather stout, and usually wore a stern expression on her face. She

John Owen Dominis, husband of Queen Liliuokalani and son of Captain John Dominis and Mary Jones Dominis.

may have been an Austrian lady. Her name, I think, was Leopold or Leopoldina Dominisi del Galo or nearly like it or perhaps it was the family name. Her husband was an Italian and of higher rank than she and was born in 1771. He was also middle height and had a fine military bearing and supposed to be the son of a Duke. Three sons and a daughter was [sic] born to them. He died by the sword in fighting a duel and so did one of the sons who had a very light hair and fair complexion. There were left two brothers and they quarreled and one of them left for foreign parts. He landed in America, went under an assumed name calling himself Capt. John Dominis and married a Miss Mary Jones of Boston, a lady of large circle of well to do relations. They must have been married in the year 1830 or 1831—for their child was born in 1832—and afterwards two girls were born and grew up to the ages of 12 and 13, and died. Capt. Dominis brought his family out to these islands in 1836 and left them out here while he went back and forth between China and this port in different vessels as captain. He built a handsome house for his wife and his son but before it was completed set sail on the 5th of August 1846 in the brig *Wm Nelson* for China. He had for passengers Geo. Brown Esqu., U.S. Commissioner, and his son George Brown Jr. (They were never more heard from but it is supposed that Captain Dominis met with foul play and was strangled in his bed by a person who had white hands and delicate like that of a lady and wore a brilliant ring on the 3rd finger of the left hand. After strangling, Capt. Dominis' body was thrown overboard.) When Capt. Dominis was living he never told who he was, or mentioned his family connections except once to his wife and his son when the latter was very young, that he was born in Trieste and that he came from a family of high standing and respectability and spoke casually of a Marquis but never gave their name. We send a copy of his picture which was taken many years ago (perhaps 60 years ago) and one of his son John when he was 14 years old—and another taken later—with the hope that it may be the means of giving a clue by which we might be able to trace Capt. Dominis' relations, for it is supposed that his sister still lives and if the search meets with satisfactory results it will place us under great obligations to you.

His son John was married in 1862 to a Hawaiian lady who survives him. I also enclose a picture of him taken five years ago. Hoping to hear soon from you,

I remain, yours very truly

J. W. ROBERTSON

K.C. of the Royal order of Kapiolani

Please address

J. W. Robertson

Honolulu

Oahu

H.I.³

Consul von Schönberger answered with a very sensible letter, dated July 16, 1892. He rightly expresses his surprise at the casual statement that John Owen Dominis was married to "a Hawaiian lady who survives him" because as a Hawaiian Consul he should know that "His R. H. John Owen Dominis, Prince-Consort and Governor of Oahu, died on the 27 August 1891 lamented by Her Majesty our Gracious Queen and her people." He further writes:

One thing only strikes me . . . that Captain Dominis only once made reference in his life-time to his wife and son to who he was. I therefore suppose that all other particulars, which you have been kind enough to give me, have been taken from another source, most probably letters, documents or other papers and should this be the case it would facilitate my researches very much if I had correct copies of such papers with all cyphers and numbers of reference which generally is the most important part of the same.⁴

In his second letter, dated Nov. 23, 1892 he complains that Trieste is full of rumors about a great heritage at Honolulu because "Mr. Kremer von Auenrode on behalf of the Austrian consul at Honolulu Mr. Glade and the Commander of H.M. Corvette "Fasana" by special request of Her Majesty the Queen made their inquiries in the same direction with however less discretion and more noise than I did." He further charges that "all were searching for the male successors of the family Dominisi del Gallo" while he impressed Dr. Gregorutti, the Director of the Registry and Statistical Office at Trieste, to renew his researches in the right direction. He further states: "These researches were made for several years before and after the year 1805. . . ."⁵

That the indiscretion stirred up a turmoil in Trieste and Dalmatia is proven by the notes and articles in the Italian and English newspapers and also in letters of private persons which I found in the State Archives of Hawaii. I also obtained photostatic copies of some Italian and Croatian newspapers. I will mention only the *Piccolo della Sera* of Trieste of 18 November 1892, which is also referred to by v. Schönberger:

A Bizarre Story
A Dalmatian King with a Crown

We read in *Dalmata* [a Dalmatian newspaper]. On the last voyage around the world of the ship "Fasana" of the imperial-royal Austrian navy the Queen of one of the Hawaiian Islands kindly asked the captain to make inquiries upon his return to Austria whether there are any relatives of her late husband Sir Hermann de Dominis, a Dalmatian who died a year ago. As soon as the captain arrived at Pola he sent a detailed report to the War Ministry which is investigating the matter. . . .

When Venice was under Austria Girolamo de Dominis, who was in the imperial navy, deserted and joined the Italian navy. In 1866 he was aboard an Italian ship in the battle of Vis. Then it was learned that he sailed for America, and he was not heard of again. How he arrived at the Hawaiian Islands has yet to be explained. It is only known that he married an indigenous girl of humble origin. After a few years the old dynasty was dethroned and to the throne was raised the family of Mr. Girolamo's wife, so Mr. Girolamo became Sir Hermann. But two years later even the good king died, and because there was no male heir, the scepter was given to Mr. Hermann and his wife, the late king's sister. Sir Hermann, as mentioned, died a year ago and the throne is now occupied by his minor son while the king's widow rules as regent.

Variations on the same theme are found in the *Secolo* of Milan, November 24 and 25, 1892; in some Croatian newspapers, and in the English *Globe* of January 4, 1893. In the latter it is adorned with some additional spicy stories.

The stories usually revolve around Girolamo (Croatian: Jerko for Jerome) of whom we will hear later. Interesting is a little note in the *Gazzetta di Venezia* of November 30, 1892:

An Italian Who Became King
The Heirs are Looked For

The Queen of the Sandwich Islands requested the Austrian Government to inform her who and how many were the relatives of her late husband in Dalmatia. The queen's husband was a certain Dominis of Italian descent. Nobody knows how he happened to get there and become at once king of savages.

The Dalmatian Government investigated the matter and found out that the deceased husband had two sisters of which one is single and the other one is married to the Italian Predolini. This one will get the inheritance. So there are not only uncles from America but also brothers from Hawaii.

Consul Schönberger's complaint was to the point not only as to the rumors but also as to the fact that others had disregarded the statement that Dominis was an assumed name.

I thought that I should do a systematic search of everything concerned, and I started with the records of the Trieste parishes where all the births, marriages and deaths are registered and which might elucidate some of the details. In these registers there is always, along with the name of the father, the maiden name of the mother. In Santa Maria Maggiore I found the registers of those born in the years 1773 to 1815. There were some named Dominighin, Dominichini, Dominisi, Dominikor, Galle; no Gallo, no Dominis. In the same parish I perused the *Liber copulatorum* (Book of marriages) from 1762 to 1821. There were some named Dominich, Domenichini, Domeneghini; there was one Gallo of the wrong age, but no Dominisi or Dominis.

In Sant' Antonio Nuovo I perused the *Liber baptizatorum* from the year 1780 to 1837. There were some named Gallo, Dominin, Dominici, Dominuti, Donati, Domis; no Dominisi, no Dominis. In the same parish I perused the index of those married in the years 1780 to 1835. There were some named Domenici, Dominici, Domeneghini, Domigni, but no Dominisi, no Dominis.

Luigi de Jenner, born in Trieste in 1803, wrote several historical articles as *Biografie Triestine*, *Cenni biografici* (Biographies of foreigners), *Effemeridi Triestine* (Trieste's Almanacs), *Genealogie Triestine*, *Di diverse famiglie Triestine*. These were written in the *Archivio Diplomatico di Trieste*. In the foreword he says he included: "genealogies of many families, almost all patrician, and some others which are related to them." There is no Gallo or del Gallo or Dominici or Dominisi or Dominis. In *Enciclopedia araldico-cavalleresca* (Heraldic-Knightly Encyclopedia) by Goffredo di Crollanza (Pisa, 1876-1877), there is no Gallo nor del Gallo nor Dominis. In *Dizionario Storico-Blasonico delle Famiglie Nobili e Notabili Italiane estinte e fiorenti*, by the same author, there are some named Domenech, Dominici, Domenici, Domini, but there is no Dominisi or Dominis.

I was aware of an article published in the *Croatian-American Historical Review*, August 1946, entitled "His Royal Highness the Prince Consort John Owen Dominis, Was He of Croatian Ancestry?" While the article claimed that it would prove that Dominis was a Croatian nobleman from the city of Karlobag on the seacoast of Croatia, the only proof offered was a letter from Joseph de Domines of Los Angeles, California. He claimed that his father had told him that the Domines family had been very active in Croatian government, and of noble blood. It was his theory that the Dominis in Hawaii was a member of this family, who had changed his name. There were no official documents to back the claim.

In my search for information, I thought it advisable to look for the earliest appearance of the name Dominis in America. Knowing that the captain had

married Mary Jones, a resident of Boston, I tried to find a record of the marriage in Boston but was advised by the Registry Division, City of Boston, that the marriage did not appear in their indexes. However, the notice of the marriage of John Dominis and Mary Jones on October 9, 1821, did appear in a Boston newspaper.⁶ Additional information on the early years of the family were found in the August 27, 1932, issue of the *Schenectady Gazette*, which contained an article on John Owen Dominis. The article states:

Two marble headstones in the burial plot of Christopher Yates at Vale Cemetery bear the name of Dominis. They are for the daughters of Captain and Mrs. Dominis, older sisters of John Owen. Presumably both girls were born in Boston, as Dominis may be found in directories of that city before and including 1831 but not later. One child, Mary Elizabeth, died on May 9, 1838 and the other, Frances Ann, died on January 11, 1842. Both were in the 13th year when stricken.

Finally, in the National Archives in Washington, I found the only official documents I have been able to locate on the entire question relating to Captain Dominis. The records of the U.S. Customs Service show that a Seaman's Protection Certificate was issued to John Dominis in the District of Boston and Charleston on October 28, 1825. Dominis is described in the abstract of the certificate as being 28 years of age, 5 feet 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches tall, of dark complexion. It also states that he was from Trieste, Italy, and acquired U.S. citizenship by naturalization.⁷

The documents concerning his naturalization are of particular interest. On February 1, 1823, he appeared before the U.S. District Court at Boston and declared "That he was born in Trieste in Italy A.D. 1796, that he came from said Trieste to Boston A.D. 1819 and is bona fide his intention to become a citizen of the U.S., and to renounce for ever all allegiance and fidelity to any foreign prince, potentate State, or Sovereignty whatever, and particularly to Francis, the second Emperor of Austria whose subject he now is."

On May 19, 1825 he petitioned for admission as a citizen of the U.S. His petition was accompanied by a declaration signed by Josiah Marshall and Daniel C. Bacon stating "that the said John Dominis has resided within the U.S. five years at least and within the State of Massachusetts during the five years last past except being absent occasionally on voyages at sea; and during the time he behaved as a man of good moral character, attached to the principles of the constitution of the U.S. and well disposed to the good order and happenings of the same." Dominis signed a declaration to support the Constitution of the U.S. and renounced all "allegiance and fidelity to Francis the Second Emperor of Austria whose subject I have heretofore been." The Court Clerk then signed the document indicating that Dominis was admitted as a citizen of the U.S.⁸

The most peculiar fact about these documents is that they repeatedly mention Trieste as being in Italy although Trieste for centuries was under Austrian sovereignty until the collapse of the Austrian-Hungarian monarchy in 1918.

If Dominis was liable for or had enrolled for military service before leaving for the United States, I thought there might be something mentioned in that

regard in the *Kriegsarchiv* (War Archives) in Vienna. The report of the Commander of the corvette *Fasana* to the War Ministry in Vienna might also be there. The *Kriegsarchiv* answered that they did not have the inquiry by Queen Liliuokalani nor the report of the commander of the *Fasana*. However, there was a list of several enlisted men named Dominis, among them Girolamo Dominis, born in Jelsa, island of Hvar, Dalmatia. He was enrolled in 1860 for eight years but deserted on November 1, 1861; was arrested on December 28, 1861 but on December 10, 1863 he again deserted from Venice (which was then under Austrian sovereignty). The *Kriegsarchiv* advised me to apply to the *Haus- Hof-und Staatsarchiv* as they might have further information.

The *Staatsarchiv* did have the information and sent me copies of several documents in a special fascicle labeled "Researches regarding the alleged relatives of John Dominis, Queen Liliuokalani's husband." Among the documents was a copy of Mr. Robertson's letter to Schönberger which was an almost exact copy of the Queen's pencilled draft, except that he, very wisely, omitted the description of the Captain's death. In the fascicle there was also the report of the commander of the *Fasana* to the War Ministry in Vienna, dated August 5, 1892, from Yokohama. The report looks quite different from that described by the newspapers already quoted.

The commander wrote that on the occasion of the dinner offered on June 22, 1892 in honor of the officers of the *Fasana*, the Queen requested him to ask the authorities of the imperial navy to help her in her search for the relatives of her late Prince Consort who might still live in Austria. The commander also repeated the information contained in Robertson's letter and added that the Queen purposely omitted to mention the high position of her husband in order to avoid sensational comments in the daily press. The War Ministry passed the entire question on to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This office learned that there were some people named Dominis in Dalmatia and wrote to the Governor of Dalmatia in Zadar.

It wasn't until February 8, 1893 that the office of the Governor answered that there was a Dominis family in Rab and another in Zadar. The letter continued:

A member of this family by name Jerolim (Girolamo) Dominis many years ago emigrated to San Francisco and on his voyage allegedly often touched the Sandwich Islands, as emerges from the enclosed note of the imperial-royal office of the District of Zadar, dated January 27, 1893.

The letter further stated that according to the known data it was impossible to conclude whether Girolamo was identical with Sir John Owen Dominis or with his father Captain John Dominis, but it recommended further research in Galveston, Texas where people lived who might give further information about him. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, on February 23, 1893 advised the consul in Honolulu, Mr. Glade, about the results of the investigation and added that it was quite possible that Girolamo changed his first name to John or Hermann. It ordered the consul to notify the Queen about the results of the inquiry and to return her husband's photo which she had handed over to the commander of the *Fasana*.

Now at least we know the source of the stories about Girolamo-Jerko Dominis in the newspaper accounts mentioned above.

In the State Archives of Hawaii there is extensive correspondence regarding the voyages and business of Captain Dominis. He was employed as commander on sailing ships, and received a salary and in some cases, a percentage of commercial transactions. He sailed from Boston along the eastern coast of North and South America around Cape Horn into the Pacific and then along the western coast of South, Central and North America to Mexico, California, Alaska, even to Kamchatka, then to Hawaii, China and the Philippines. From the letters we know that he touched Canton, Macao, Manila, Monterey in California, Mazatlan in Mexico, Sitka in Alaska, and Kamchatka. In these various countries he sold wares from Boston, and bought various furs: otter, sea-otter, beaver, sable, mink, white, black, silver and red fox, polar bear, muskrat, racoon, sealskin and also all kinds of hides. On his voyages he almost always stopped at the Hawaiian Islands where he did some business and also equipped the ship with food, fuel and all the necessities indispensable for a long voyage. Of the various documents, the statement by Josiah Marshall, dated Boston, November 15, 1831, is of particular interest for us: "Capt. John Dominis, having been in my employ for eleven years now last past, a considerable part of the time commander of a vessel on the North West Coast on Pacific Ocean, I do most cheerfully recommend him as a capable honest and industrious man." This seems to be an indication that in 1820, one year after his arrival in the United States, his name was Dominis.⁹

In almost all the letters, his employers are full of praise for him. In those days communications were very poor, news was very slow in arriving and voyages were long. Meanwhile business conditions and various other circumstances changed very rapidly, and therefore the instructions given by the employers could not be either strictly given or strictly carried out; the employers had to rely on the honesty, sound judgment and intellectual abilities of the commander. He had to promptly grasp and analyse the situation, adapt to it and make, according to the circumstances, the best possible decision. Their full trust in him is evident in many of these letters. They often express their gratitude for his good work in business and as a commander. Of course, from time to time there were differences of opinion and misunderstandings, even conflicts, particularly when business was not very good. So in a letter of 1841 Dominis reproves the behaviour of a certain Skinner and compares his claims to the demands of Shylock in Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*.

Among the various documents there is a copy of a patent issued on Sept. 13th 1842 "for measuring sails".

These letters are the only source that shed light on his personality. According to them he evidently was a good captain; he was very successful in business for his employers and also for himself, and his employers held him in high esteem. By his remark about Shylock one would say that he was well educated, and by the above mentioned patent one would conclude that he was a man of initiative, of ambitious inclinations, of enterprising spirit and of

original ideas. That was confirmed in the Honolulu newspaper *The Friend* of May 15, 1847: "No person in our community was more generally esteemed for his many excellencies as a neighbor, friend and citizen, than Capt. Dominis, and his family have met with an irreparable loss." The article, under the heading "The Missing Brig, Wm. Neilson", continues:

We can with difficulty bring our mind to the conclusion that all on board have perished and not one survives to report the story of her disaster. . . . Ex U.S. Commissioner Brown, and Capt. Dominis, passengers, and Capt. Weston commanding the brig are removed from their families. . . .

Nowhere in this material, however, is there any clue to his place of origin. In addition to what I was able to gather from America, Italy and Vienna, I thought that perhaps in Yugoslavia I would find data which would help me find a solution to the problem. I found here and there some short notes in the daily press, but almost all these refer to Ivan Jerko (John Jerome) Dominis who allegedly was born in Rab or somewhere else in Dalmatia, who wandered to America and then to Hawaii, where he became Prince Consort or even "King"! Victor Anton count Dujšin in his article in the *Annals of Nobility* stated that Ivan Jerko deserted from the Austrian navy because he was a bitter foe of Austria as the Austrian Government had deprived his family of large estates on the islands of Rab and Pag without any indemnity. He was arrested but he escaped in 1866. The article concludes, "Only later was it known that he became Prince Consort of the last Hawaiian Queen." Even the *Marine Encyclopedia* (in Croatian) states that Ivan Jerko was a Croatian seaman who got—it is not known how—to the Hawaiian Islands, where he became Prince Consort of the last Queen.

Finally, I made contact with some members of the Dominis family who still scrupulously cultivate the family traditions and who still show interest in and love for the glorious history of their family. I informed them of what I knew about the problem, particularly of the contents of Queen Liliuokalani's letter regarding her father-in-law. I received a copy of a letter written by Mrs. Betty Dominis, a widow, to her son Miri. I will quote what I think is relevant to the subject.

I have the following newspaper: *Divagando*, the leading Italian weekly magazine in the U.S. of January 24, 1955. There is not only a long article but also a portrait of that John Owen. It is obvious at first glance that he is a Dominis. He couldn't be more alike. So we concluded that his father must be a son of Daddy's great-grandmother who had 24 children. There were two Johns. One was daddy's grandfather, John the Apostle and the other was John the Baptist. The latter did some dirty trick and disappeared, and he had been never talked of. . . .

It is true that Liliuokalani spoke aboard the ship and asked for information regarding her husband. It was an Austrian ship. . . . She was showing her husband's portrait and asking about the family. We had all thought that it was all about grandfather's cousin Jerko who was, together with his sisters, reared by great-grandfather John, as parents died of typhoid fever. He was a naval officer and a great Italianophile. He deserted and was jailed in Venice. Due to the influence of great-grandfather John he was released.

It is also true that the Consul was looking for a Dominis and grandfather Miri was positive that it is all about that Jerko, so he sent data regarding Jerko. At the same time Jerko's sisters were asking money, which enraged grandfather. . . . So John Owen

was grandfather's cousin and his [John Owen] father was grandfather's uncle; so one of 23 children of great-great-grandfather ("the son of miracle").

You will remember that the then last Dominis had only daughters. His wife, almost 60, went barefooted to one of our churches, and after that pilgrimage she had her son Vincenzo, who was by everybody call "The son of miracle." That Vincenzo married a Galzigna (Dominisi del Gallo) and had 23 children by her. Grandfather Miri used to say that she herself didn't know the names of the children. She had twins several times and at night she had several cradles around the bed tied with strings and if a child cried she would pull the respective string. . . . Her husband was much older. . . .

Grandfather told us about terrible brawls and scuffles among the brothers. One behaved like a madman and halved a silver cup by Benvenuto Cellini and cut to pieces a painting by Veronese because they didn't want to give them to him. When I asked what happened to him, I was told that he disappeared. . . .

Now this John talks about duels . . . of course, he didn't talk about his descent. . . . The brothers hurled themselves upon him and he flung one downstairs. The oldest had a broken spine and couldn't walk. . . . They gave him money to let him go away forever and they didn't want to hear of him. . . . They also related that a sister sided with him. . . . So he couldn't say anything detailed about his family. . . . There were no duels. . . . Anyway he is that John from America.

As there is usually a kernel of truth in legends and traditions, I tried to verify how much truth there was in what the lady narrated. I found in the Historical Archives of Zadar, where the registers of births, marriages and deaths of the parish of Rab are kept, that Vincenzo really did exist. He was born on November 14, 1769 and on June 5, 1791 married Agnes Galzigna, daughter of Peter Galzigna. She was born in 1771. Vincenzo was that "son of miracle" of whom Mrs. Dominis wrote.

I then checked to find out whether Vincenzo's mother had really had only daughters before him and whether she was almost 60 when, after the pilgrimage described, she had Vincenzo. Vincenzo's parents were Franciscus, born in 1737, son of "*nobilis Hieronymi de Dominis quondam nobilis Christophori*" and Elisabeth, born on June 6, 1732, daughter of "*quondam nobilis Hieronymi de Galzigna qu. nobilis Mathei*." They were married on January 25, 1756. The first child was born in 1756, male; the second child in 1758, also male; but both very soon died. After these two sons they had seven daughters, and then Vincenzo was born in 1769, then another daughter. So there is some truth in the fact that for a long time they had only daughters alive, and that only then did they have a son. It is not, however, true that Elisabeth was then almost 60, which is, from a medical standpoint, possible but extremely improbable. She was then 37 years old. According to the Family Annals (*Stališ duša*)¹⁰ which are kept in the Monastery of St. Euphemia in Rab, Vincenzo was born on January 23, 1771, but even so she would have been only 39. If we consider that in those times a woman of 40 was considered old and very often she looked old, particularly after so many childbirths, we shouldn't be surprised that tradition had given her an extra 20 years. Regardless of which date is correct for Vincenzo's birth, he was not much older than his wife because he married when he was 20 or 22 and Agnes was 20.

Mrs. Dominis in one part of her letter states that Vincenzo and Agnes had 23 children and in another part of the letter that they had 24. Having so many children is unusual but was not a great rarity at that time. However, since

Captain Dominis would have been one of these children, if the family story was true, a comparison between the register of births, the Family Annals and the tradition is necessary. The first lists ten names, the second gives nine, but since the two lists do not completely agree, a total of eleven names are given. (See Note 11.) There are two names, Giovanni Innocenzo Mariano and Matteo Nicolo, in the register and not in the Annals; there is one name, Frani (Francis) in the Annals and not in the register. This would seem to indicate that not all of the children are registered in the register of births, probably because they were not born in the parish of Rab. In addition, the omission of two names from the Annals would indicate that they are not always accurate. Furthermore, the fact that some of the names in the Annals are written in pencil and some in ink is a sign of carelessness. All of this, of course, is of interest because the name John does not appear in the Annals, while the family tradition has both John the Apostle and John the Baptist.

An analysis of the birthdates in the two lists show that children were born every two or three years, except for the six year gap between the first and second listed. This interval is of particular interest because it was during it that Captain Dominis was born—1796. Authorities in obstetrics have told me that under normal conditions and given the regular pattern of childbearing in the later years, one would not expect such a long interval after the first child.

Given these facts, it is difficult to avoid the suggestion that during this period Agnes gave birth to children someplace outside of the parish of Rab, and so they were not registered there.

Mrs. Dominis' statement regarding Ivan Jerko is very probably largely correct because it is in general agreement with the other data known about him and already mentioned.

Dr. Milos Skarica of Zadar, who knew that I was interested in the Dominis family, informed me that he had discussed the problem with Mrs. Ema Botteri, *nee* Dominis, sister-in-law of Mrs. Betty Dominis. She told him that her grandfather had a brother who died around 1860. This brother had four daughters and two sons. The older son, Ivan Jerko, at the age of 16 was sent by her grandfather to the Nautical School in Dubrovnik. He later went to America and the last they heard from him was from San Francisco. Mrs. Botteri was firmly convinced that this Ivan Jerko was the Prince Consort. She further related that in 1894 Queen Liliuokalani wrote to her father, Dr. Dragomir Dominis, an attorney, that she would be very glad to pay them a visit to get acquainted with the relatives in Rab, but her father asked the Queen to postpone the visit because he was afraid of incurring great expenditures as she was supposed to arrive with her niece and retinue. The Queen complained that she was deprived of everything, and the only valuable object in her possession was a coat of bird feathers. The Queen's letter was destroyed in the fire of the Menzin house in Zadar.

Again, the story of Ivan Jerko is in agreement with what we already know about him, and the Queen's letter undoubtedly existed because there is no reason why Mrs. Botteri should invent the story. On the contrary, while most of the stories indicate that an inheritance was expected from Honolulu, this

one showed that any such hope was vain and futile. In addition, Mrs. Botteri apparently knew almost nothing about Hawaii or she wouldn't have thought that Ivan Jerko was the Prince Consort. So it is not likely that she would have known that the Queen had a niece, Princess Kaiulani, who was her heir apparent, nor that the chiefs in Hawaii wore capes of bird feathers.

IV. DISCUSSION

From all the adduced facts and the quoted letters and documents, it would appear that in most cases almost all the people concerned with searching for information on Captain Dominis proceeded in an illogical and careless way. The consul V. von Schönberger was the one who acted best because he was the only one who took into consideration what Liliuokalani wrote about the assumed name. He was right in expressing his surprise that Captain Dominis only once said who he was, and he rightly supposed that "all other particulars must have been taken from another source, most probably letters, documents or other papers." But even he made a surprising mistake in looking for those born in 1805 or about that year, although Robertson had written that Captain Dominis was born in 1803, which as we now know was also wrong. While the mistake was inconsequential, it is difficult to understand how he misread such important datum. His second mistake was continually, without the least hesitation, searching for the Captain's mother under the name of Leopoldina Dominisi del Gallo although he knew that Liliuokalani wrote: "I think it was Leopold or Leopoldini Dominisi del Gallo or nearly like it or perhaps it was the family name."

Of course, the most obvious mistakes were made by the Queen herself, who brought up the entire question. While much that she stated is vague, she should have had some of the facts, such as the date of marriage of the Captain and Mary Jones, and the ages of John Owen's sisters, both of whom were older than he. It is possible that she would not have known the birthdate of the Captain. There is a discrepancy in the story that Captain Dominis once told his story to his wife and son, but didn't reveal his true name. It is difficult to believe that he would not have told his real name to his wife, who in turn would have passed the information on to their son, and he to the Queen.

The Queen relates details of the Captain's death which are very strange. If no one on the ship had ever been heard from, who could have given her those details? It is known that she had an attendant who she believed was a clairvoyant and it is possible that the story came from this source. Robertson, who in his letter to the consul literally copies whatever the Queen wrote in her draft of the letter, wisely omitted the details of the Captain's death. One also can't help but wonder why she waited so long to inquire after her husband's descent. While he was still living, she was heir apparent and, for ten months during King Kalakaua's absence, even regent. The search might have been easier with her husband's help.

Consul Glade, in a note dated April 14, 1893, notified the Ministry of External Affairs in Vienna that he had received the note of February 23, and

that he would hand over all the data regarding the Dominis family in excerpts and translation to Queen Liliuokalani. Meanwhile, on January 17, 1893 the Queen had been dethroned. However, on April 1, 1893 the U.S. flag was lowered from the Government Building and the Hawaiian flag hoisted again, and all the portents indicated the return of the Queen to the throne. Under these circumstances the consul certainly would have notified the Queen about the information received from Vienna. So the Queen could establish that Ivan Jerko was not identical with her late husband and could have asked the consul to so notify the Ministry in Vienna. But the Ministry could have ascertained that even earlier, without the consul's aid, because they had the report of the commander of the *Fasana*, which made it clear that the entire problem concerned Captain Dominis, allegedly born in Trieste in 1803 and not his son, the Prince Consort, whose life from birth on was very well known. Had the Ministry notified the Governor's Office in Zadar that the question had nothing to do with Ivan Jerko but with someone of an earlier generation, they might perhaps have learned about John the Baptist Dominis who, according to Mrs. Betty Dominis' story, had left his native shores, or they could have reported no one in the family would fit into the picture. Because everybody concerned was more or less careless, from consul Schönberger to the Ministry in Vienna, and perhaps even the Captain's widow and her son, we will probably never have a definitive answer.

However, by analysing the data presented it is at least possible to verify certain facts and exclude some fantastic stories still circulating in Yugoslavia. First of all, it can be pointed out that Ivan Jerko was talked about only by mistake, and he does not belong in the Marine Encyclopedia or any other.

What is known with certainty is that Captain Dominis came from a region of the Adriatic Sea, otherwise he would not have mentioned Trieste as his birthplace and he would not have said that he owed allegiance to Francis the Second of Austria. But most important of all the data is the fact that he was always known as Dominis in the United States, as can be seen from the quoted statement by Josiah Marshall, who had known him from 1820, one year after his arrival.

If we assume that his name was not Dominis before his arrival in America, we have to ask how he hit upon that name. There were no Dominises in Italy, and even those living there at this time are not originally from Italy. There were no Dominises in Trieste around 1800 and even at present all those resident in Trieste are originally Dalmatians. As we have seen, no Dominis was registered in any register of births, marriages and deaths or annals of that period in Trieste, and in the Civic Registers of that city the first Dominis is registered in 1911. Of course, we cannot exclude the possibility that there were some Dominises in Trieste at that time in spite of their absence from the registers, but we can be quite certain that the individuals with that name would have arrived from Dalmatia. If Captain Dominis was born and lived in Trieste until his departure for America, it is very improbable that he would have been in contact with a Dominis or even heard that name unless he had been in Dalmatia or was of Dalmatian origin.

There is another peculiarity in the Captain's statements which should be pointed out. He continuously stated that he was born in Trieste, Italy; that he arrived in Boston from Trieste; and yet in the document of naturalization he stated that he owed his allegiance to Francis the Second of Austria. This appears to be a contradiction, but perhaps if one takes into account the unsettled conditions in the area at the time of his birth and youth, it is not quite so much a mystery. Dominis claimed he was born in 1796; in 1797 the Napoleonic conquest of the area began. In 1797 and 1805, and again between 1809 and 1813 Trieste was under the Bonaparte government. It had, however, been returned to Austrian rule for several years when he claims he left, 1819. After all these years, the reasons for his contradictory statements will probably never be known.

And why did he emigrate to America? Probably because he liked the life of a seaman and because navigation with sailing ships was particularly thriving and profitable in America, whereas the Napoleonic wars had laid Europe waste. The Americans were improving and developing their merchant marine. There were some steamships plying the seas at the beginning of the nineteenth century, but even after the first steamship crossed the Atlantic Ocean, sailing ships still ruled the waves. The Americans had developed the famous clippers, fast, elegant, slender ships with high masts and large sails. The period from the Napoleonic wars to the middle of the nineteenth century was the Golden Age of the American sailing vessels. Dominis arrived in America in 1819, so he was young, and we can imagine him as a precocious, stubborn young man who rushed to the far-away foreign land, longing for wealth or adventure, or both, with the curiosity which drives a promising enthusiast into the Unknown. But perhaps, regardless of these considerations, he wanted to get as far as possible from home, for reasons known only to himself.

Throughout the nineteenth century, immigrants to the United States were mostly northern Europeans. Only after the Civil War in 1865 did immigration start from Italy and then from the Austrian-Hungarian empire. This greatly increased towards the end of the century, and among these were many people from Dalmatia who, poverty-stricken due to the destruction of the vineyards by phylloxera in 1894, emigrated to America. It wasn't until the middle of the nineteenth century that Trieste became the main economic and commercial center for Dalmatia, and until about this time, there were no direct routes of communication between Austria, including Dalmatia, and America. Only occasionally did single individuals of an adventurous, lively nature emigrate overseas, and Dominis must have been one of these.

There is still the question of the change of name hinted at by the Queen. It is very well known that it is practically, even if not legally, rather easy to change one's name in America even today, and it was certainly much easier early in the last century. That is, it can be done without particular juridical or administrative formalities, but it is not so easy for psychological reasons. People do not easily change their habits, and it is understandable how much more reluctant they are to deprive themselves of their own name with which they have identified themselves since birth. Of course, the respective attitudes

vary very much and depend on individual differences, such as various tastes, natures, principles and sentiments which in this case are not known. Even today many immigrants with foreign names change them for practical reasons, but they try, as far as possible, to keep a trace of their original names; so Tomašić or Tišma changes into Thomas, Schumacher into Shoemaker, Ranković into Frank, and so on. Some resort to translations to keep a tie with their original name. Very rarely do people violate all traditions, violate their sense of identity and simply assume a completely different name. That psychologically understandable reluctance against assuming another name must be very strong in carriers of names of famous families. We know that the Captain married an American girl; that he gave his son an exclusively American education; that, encouraged as he was by his success in business and in society, he built for his family a luxurious house in Honolulu, the city he had chosen as his permanent residence. He obviously became familiar with the American way of life and society, which agreed with him and where he was accepted with open arms. All the evidence seems to stress the fact that he was endeavoring, for reasons known only to himself, to break all ties with his native country, as well as with the relations there, and to forget and veil his pre-American past as completely as possible. So if he was not Dominis, why did he assume a name which obviously betrayed his origin and pointed to the Eastern Adriatic shore? It would have been much more understandable—if and when he overcame his reluctance against a change of name—to assume a pure English name or to anglicise his original name.

V. CONCLUSIONS

From everything which has been brought up and discussed, it is evident that no one will ever, with absolute certainty, establish the identity of Captain John Dominis, as has happened with many personalities in history; but by means of psychological reasoning, some objective facts, and logic, we can reach two possible conclusions.

A. Captain Dominis was not Dominis but an Italian born in Trieste, then in Austria, under an unknown name. There is only one item of evidence for this, and that is the sketch in the letter written by Queen Liliuokalani dated June 18, 1892. We cannot ignore that what she wrote is evidence that at least for some time, she was convinced that the Captain was born under another name. But, as we have seen, there are so many improbable, contradictory details in that letter that we are justified in asking whether she fully realized what she was writing. According to such diverse sources as the registers of births, marriages and deaths in Trieste, the Annals of nobility in Trieste and Italy, and the present-day telephone books in Italy, and considering the hesitation and uncertainty with which she uttered the name Dominisi del Gallo, we may with a reasonable degree of certainty conclude that such a combination of names does not and did not exist in either Trieste or Italy, and that such a combination of names originated in the Queen's fancy. If we

assume that the Captain was a son of Vincenzo Dominis and his wife Agnes Galzigna, it is difficult to avoid the suggestion that Dominisi del Gallo was a combination of Dominis and Galzigna, the variation Gallo being better known, simpler and shorter. This is only an hypothesis, but we cannot exclude it; on the contrary, it would be only natural, that Captain Dominis at some time mentioned his mother's maiden name, which then reached the Queen in a distorted form.

B. In favor of the conclusion that Captain Dominis was really a Dominis from Rab or some other place in Dalmatia, or at least of Dalmatian descent, the following facts are indicative:

1. The name Dominis is not known either in Trieste or in Italy and it is very improbable that that name would be assumed by anyone who was not a native of Dalmatia or of Dalmatian descent.

2. No letter or document was found in the entire file of papers left by the Captain which would suggest that anyone ever knew him under any other name or knew anything about a change of name.

3. The Dominis family belonged to the nobility, and there were counts de Dominis, which would agree with what the Queen wrote about parents of high rank (marquises and dukes).

4. In the Dominis family there were many capable, enterprising and adventurous men, and it would be characteristic for a member of this family to undertake such an uncertain journey to America, at a time when almost no one traveled there from the Adriatic region except rare individuals like himself.

5. Captain Dominis early decided to become an American citizen, and instead of changing his name to another foreign one, it would have been more logical to change it to a pure English or at least an anglicized name.

6. According to Mrs. Betty Dominis' story, Vincenzo de Dominis was the Captain's father, and Vincenzo was born, according to the Annals of the monastery of St. Euphemia, in 1771. This agrees with the Queen's story. Of course, that may be pure coincidence because the year of birth of Vincenzo's wife does not agree with the year given by the Queen, but the Queen is indefinite because she gives 1776 or 1778.

7. Mrs. Betty Dominis' story apparently was a tradition in the family which existed before the question of the Captain's descent arose either in Honolulu or in Dalmatia. There was some, although not complete, truth in that tradition, and even the number of children, although improbable, could not definitely be refuted. It is unlikely that she invented the entire story of the brawls and the final departure of a member of the family.

8. According to the story narrated by Mrs. Botteri and communicated to me by Dr. Skarica, Queen Liliuokalani wanted to pay a visit to her "relatives" in Rab, and it is a pity that her letter was lost in a fire. It is as if all the powers of fate have conspired to block the disentangling of the tangle. This letter

would indicate that Queen Liliuokalani herself finally realized that her earlier story didn't make much sense and yielded to the idea that Captain Dominis after all was indeed a Dominis.

9. If we look at the photographs of father and son, we have to admit that it would be difficult on the basis of his features to determine the origin of the father, but the son John Owen, in his tall stature and marked features, is a typical Dalmatian.

10. According to the tradition which is still very much alive in the family, a Dominis left the shores of Dalmatia and another Dominis, of approximately the same age, arrived at the shores of America. It is as if a portion of the picture of the Dominis family fell out, only to have an identical portion found later in Hawaii.

I have not been able to find any document absolutely proving Captain Dominis' descent, that is, a register that contains a record of his birth, but there are so many arguments against his change of name that this portion of the Queen's story loses weight. All of the discussed arguments appear to converge toward the conclusion that Captain Dominis was a member of the Dalmatian family Dominis and very probably identical with John the Baptist, son of Vincenzo Dominis and Agnes Galzigna, and that consequently, Queen Liliuokalani's Prince Consort was of Croatian descent.

NOTES

¹ Mark Anthony de Dominis was born in Rab in 1560 in the palace Dominis-Nimira, which is at present a hotel, and studied in Italy. After graduation he taught mathematics and physics at Padua University, then philosophy at Brescia. In 1596 he was appointed Roman Catholic Bishop in Senj, and in 1602 Archbishop of Split, and thus Metropolitan of Dalmatia and Croatia. But he came into conflict with the clergy because of his restriction of their rights. Being a friend of the famous Venetian church reformer Paolo Sarti, who was excommunicated by Pope Paul V, he also got entangled in the dispute between the papacy and the Venetian Republic. So he left Split for Venice and then went to London where he met the favor of James I and was appointed, as a convert to Protestantism, Dean of Windsor. Already in 1616 in Venice, he had written against the papacy, and he wrote some other papers in London, but his main work was *De Republica Ecclesiastica* in 10 volumes, which was published in London under royal patronage. When his schoolmate Gregory V was elected pope he went to Rome and wrote a letter of repentance. However, Gregory V died in 1623 and Dominis was imprisoned in Castel Sant' Angelo, where he died in 1624 while the process of the "Holy" inquisition was still pending. Three months after his death he was condemned and his body burned at the stake. He was well known as a scientist, particularly for papers on the physics of the eye and the rainbow, and the now accepted theory on the flood and ebb tides as effected by the sun and the moon.

² Chronicles of the Monastery of St. Euphemia, Rab, compiled by Father Odoriko Badurin. (Unpublished Ms.)

³ Folder 100, Liliuokalani Collection, M-93. (AH)

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Index of Marriages in *Massachusetts Centinel and Columbian Centinel*, 1784-1840, compiled by American Antiquarian Society. Boston, 1961.

⁷ Abstracts of seamen's protection certificates, BB7702, 3rd Qtr., 1825, in Records of U.S. Custom Services: Boston-Charlestown, Mass. Record Group 36. (National Archives)

⁸ Naturalization record of John Dominis, U.S. Circuit Court, Boston, Mass. in Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. Record Group 85. (National Archives)

⁹ Captain John Dominis Papers. Liliuokalani Collection, M-93. (AH)

¹⁰ In the Family Annals all the family members should be listed, even those who are not born within the respective parish and are not registered in the parish register of births. It should be noted that these Family Annals for various reasons were not always accurate, but they may be helpful.

¹¹ List of the children of Vincenzo Dominis and Agnes Galzigna, with the birth dates as shown in the Family Annals and as registered in the parish register of births.

Family Annals

Jeronim	15.III.1792
Petar	1.VI.1798
Kata kći	8.XI.1800
Pacific sin	22.IV.1803
Madalena	6.II.1806
Frane sin	[no date]

Krsto sin	23. I.1812
Jelisava kći	23.XI.1815
Josip sin	2.VI.1817

(sin is son; kći is daughter)

Register of Births

Girolamo Vincenzo Ignazio	25. III.1792
Pietro gaudenzio Antonio	1. VI.1798
Catta Anna Teodora	13. XI.1800
Pacifico	22. IV.1803
Maddalena Dorotea	6. II.1806

Giovanni Innocenzo Mariano	28.XII.1807
Matteo Nicolò	27. II.1810
Cristoforo	20. II.1812
Elisabetta Anna	27. X.1814
Giuseppe Nicolo Marcotino	2. VI.1817

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MARY (JONES) DOMINIS

The statement was made in a frequently quoted source that Mary Dominis, the wife of Captain John Dominis, was a sister of Robert W. Holt, early resident of Hawaii. With the above article on the descent of the Captain, a clarification on his wife's descent appears to be timely.

The Hawaii State Archives has a large collection of letters received by her from members of her family in Boston and other parts of the United States. A close reading of these papers indicates that she was a sister-in-law, not a sister of Holt. Mrs. Holt died before Robert Holt came to Hawaii, and left two young daughters. The girls remained in the East with members of the Jones family for a few years, then came to Hawaii and lived with Mrs. Dominis. Annie Maria Holt died on March 15, 1851, age 21. The funeral was from Washington Place. Elizabeth Holt married William A. Aldrich at Washington Place on January 25, 1855. She died in San Francisco on October 27, 1865, age 34.

According to an article in the *Schenectedy Gazette*, August 27, 1932, Mary Dominis was the daughter of Elizabeth Lambert and Owen Jones of Boston. The date of death of Mrs. Jones is not known. Owen Jones died in Dorchester, Mass., on April 22, 1850, age 82. (Boston Library Index of Obituaries.)

Confusion has probably arisen because Robert Holt remarried in Hawaii and members of this part of the Holt family have been named for members of Mrs. Dominis' family—Owen Jones and John Dominis.

